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ABSTRACT

Despite the large number of children in stepfamilies, there is little research on the implications of large families for child well-being. This paper used three traditionally representative data sets--the National Commission on Children Survey (NCC), the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH) and the National Survey of Children (NSC)--to examine the relationship between family type and parental time allocation to children and their activities and parental time constraints, and the impact of parental time investment and parent-child relationship on child well-being. NCC results revealed that stepparents, particularly of girls, were less likely than parents in intact families to attend religious services, help with special projects, and attend plays, concerts, or sports events. Compared to parents in intact and single-parent families, NCC stepparents and stepsons were less likely to rate their relationships as excellent or extremely close. Stepparents of NSFH boys were less likely to regularly attend church and church social events than those in intact families, and stepparents of girls were less likely to be a leader of a religious group; eat breakfast regularly with daughters; attend school meetings regularly; or attend church. NSC revealed few family type differences in parental time and emotional investments in children. Differential parental time investments and religious participation partially explained behavior problems among NSFH children. Although being in a stepfamily did not affect NSC males' behavior problems, closeness of the parent-child bond mediated the effect of living in a stepfamily on girls' behavior problems. Children in single-parent families, especially boys, had the most adverse outcomes. (KB)

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PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIPS AND INVESTMENTS OF PARENTAL TIME IN CHILDREN: ARE CHILDREN IN STEPFAMILIES AT A DISADVANTAGE?

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PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIPS AND INVESTMENTS OF PARENTAL TIME IN CHILDREN: ARE CHILDREN IN STEPFAMILIES AT A DISADVANTAGE?

ABSTRACT

Currently, over one million children experience the divorce of their parents each year, and an estimated half-million children become part of remarried families annually. Despite the large numbers of children involved, however, we do not have a clear picture of the implications of remarriage for child wellbeing. The current paper uses three nationally representative data sets, the National Commission on Children Survey (NCC), the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH) and the National Survey of Children (NSC) to explore whether, despite the availability of two parents, stepparent families as compared to two-biological-parent families allocate less time to the child and the child's activities. We also examine the child-related activities of divorced parents who have not remarried, hypothesizing that single-parents face more time constraints than either intact or remarried parents. Finally, we explore whether differences in time investments and parent-child closeness account for differences in child wellbeing across family types.

Bivariate results from the NCC revealed that parents in stepfamilies, particularly of girls, were substantially less likely than those in intact families to report attending religious services, providing help with special projects or class trips, and attending plays, concerts or sports events. Compared to those in both intact and single-parent families, parents and sons in stepfamilies in the NCC were far less likely to rate their relationships with each other as excellent or extremely close, while among girls there was little difference in this measure across family types.

The contrasts between step- and other families were not as sharp in either the NSFH or the NSC. Parents of boys in stepfamilies in the NSFH were shown to be less likely to

regularly attend church and church social events than those in intact families, and the stepparents of girls were less likely than those in intact families to be a leader, coach or advisor of a religious group, to eat breakfast regularly with their daughters, to attend PTA or other school meetings regularly, and to attend church services. The NSC revealed few statistically significant differences in parental time and emotional investments in children according to family type.

We next used the NSFH and NSC to investigate whether differences in levels of parental participation in children's activities and parent-child closeness explain differences in child adjustment in intact versus other families. Our results revealed that differentials in parental time investments in children and religious participation partially explained greater levels of parent-reported behavior problems among children in the NSFH. While being in a stepfamily did not significantly affect the level of behavior problems among males in the NSC, we found that the closeness of the parent-child bond was a mechanism of the effect of living in a stepfamily on the behavior problems of girls. Being in a stepfamily was not significantly related to depression, delinquency, or high school completion in the NSC for boys or girls. However, we found that children in single-parent families, particularly boys, have the most adverse outcomes -- partially explained by the time investments that solo parents are able to make in their children's activities.

PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIPS AND INVESTMENTS OF PARENTAL TIME IN CHILDREN: ARE CHILDREN IN STEPFAMILIES AT A DISADVANTAGE?

INTRODUCTION

Currently, over one million children experience the divorce of their parents each year. Two-thirds of women enter a second marriage following separation and divorce (Cherlin, 1992), and an estimated half-million children become part of remarried families annually. Despite the large numbers of children involved, however, we do not have a clear picture of the implications of remarriage for child wellbeing (see Ganong and Coleman, 1984 for review). While there is substantial evidence that growing up in a single-parent family carries considerable disadvantages for children (Krein and Beller, 1988; Astone and McLanahan, 1994; Amato and Keith, 1991; McLanahan, 1988), apparently due to fewer economic resources and limits on the availability of both the residential and non-residential parent (McLanahan, 1985; Hetherington, Cox, and Cox, 1985), children in remarried families do not necessarily fare better.

For example, parents and children in stepfamilies rate their households less favorably than do those in first marriage households (Furstenberg, 1987), and children report feeling less close to stepparents than to biological parents (Ganong and Coleman, 1987; Hetherington and Jodl, 1993). Thus, although remarried families may resemble intact families in terms of monetary resources and the availability of two parents, stepfamilies' lives present challenges due to the unique circumstances upon which they are built. Researchers have found, for example, that children in stepfamilies do not receive the same level of encouragement and

attention related to their schooling as children whose parents remain together, and these deficits significantly affect their educational attainment (Astone and McLanahan, 1991).

The purpose of the current paper is to better understand parent-child relationships in remarried families. Specifically, our aim is to explore whether, despite the availability of two parents, stepparent families as compared to two-biological-parent families allocate less time to the child and the child's activities, and whether this differential time investment and a lesser degree of parent-child closeness (if they exist) account for differences in child wellbeing across the two groups.

A problem with nearly all studies of remarriage to date is that they have been relatively small in scale, based on non-random samples, and have focused primarily on children in white, middle-class families (Coleman and Ganong, 1990). The current study overcomes these limitations by relying upon data from three nationally representative data sets: the National Commission on Children survey (NCC), the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH), and the National Survey of Children (NSC). We explore differences in parental involvement in children's activities and parent-child closeness across three family types -- two-biological-parent married families, remarried families, and divorced or separated families that have remained single. Using data from the NSFH and NSC, both of which contain child outcome measures, we investigate whether differential time and emotional investments in children across family types account for differences in child adjustment. In the NSFH, we use the level of parent-reported behavior problems among children as the

dependent variable, while in the NSC we examine the effects of parental involvement in children's activities on youth behavior problems, delinquency, depression, and high school graduation.

Previous research has also been criticized for having methodological flaws, most notably a reliance on a single rater for reports about the functioning of remarried families (e.g., see Clingempeel et al., 1984). However, Linder, Hagan, and Brown (1992) noted that the appraisal of children's adjustment in stepfamilies varied markedly according to who was rating them. In the current study we rely on both parental and child reports of parenting behaviors.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

A key reason why remarriage is hypothesized to improve children's wellbeing after divorce is that it often brings considerable improvement in the economic circumstances of custodial mothers and their children. For example, in a longitudinal study of divorced families, Hetherington (1993) found that 11 years after divorce unremarried mothers had average household incomes of $28,000, compared to $58,000 for non-divorced families, and $56,000 for remarried families. Moreover, the entrance of another adult into the household may provide much needed relief to a single parent who previously managed household and child-rearing responsibilities alone. In the case of boys, a stepfather may provide a male role model that is often missing in the female-headed household. For example, there is some evidence that the presence of a stepfather reduces the negative behaviors manifested by boys

in the aftermath of divorce (e.g., Chapman, 1977; Santrock, 1972). Benefits are most likely to occur when remarriage takes place early in the child's life (Hetherington, Cox, and Cox, 1985).

Despite the potential advantages of remarrying versus remaining single following divorce, and the fact that stepfamilies have unique strengths (e.g., Coleman, Ganong, and Gingrich, 1985), to date there is no consistent evidence that children growing up in remarried families have better achievement, social or emotional development than those whose parents remain single after divorce (Hetherington and Jodl, 1993; Zill, 1988). Both clinical and empirical researchers have documented the numerous challenges that characterize stepfamily life (e.g., Goetting, 1982; Visher and Visher, 1978). Below we describe the parental activities, child-rearing practices, and parent-child relationships within stepfamilies that may affect parental time investments in children and contribute to poorer outcomes among children in remarried households.

Despite the prevalence of remarriage in our society, we still lack normative guidelines for behavior in stepfamilies (Cherlin and Furstenberg, 1993). Cherlin's (1978) "incomplete institution" hypothesis argues that there are few well defined rules for family life in remarried households. Moreover, not only do stepfamilies have to negotiate their new roles in an *ad hoc* way, these negotiations often take place during times of considerable stress and isolation (Robinson, 1991).

A potentially key problem from the point of view of child adjustment is the contradictory nature of the stepparent's role as both parent and non-parent. Although there is some expectation that stepparents will assume a parental role, remarriage does not confer

stepparents with any legal ties to stepchildren (Kaufman, 1993). For example, in most states stepparents cannot authorize emergency medical treatment for their stepchildren without express permission from the children's parent or legal guardian (Kaufman, 1993). In addition, the stepparent's role as parent is shaped by the expectations and restrictions of both the child's custodial and non-custodial parents (Hetherington and Jodl, 1993). Claxton-Oldfield (1992) found that a sample of white, middle-class college students had less favorable impressions of stepfathers carrying out a disciplinary role than fathers. Although stepfathers were reported to have parental styles typical of fathers, they were judged to be less affectionate, fair, kind, and likable in the parenting role. Perkins and Kahan (1979) found that as compared to the ratings that children in intact marriages give their biological fathers, stepchildren rate their stepfathers as less "good" and less "powerful." Finally, whereas biological parents have many years in which to work out their relationships and disciplinary styles with their children, stepparents "plunge right in and things have to be worked out simultaneously" (Robinson, 1991).

These initially good intentions do not always last, however, as the stepparent's role is also shaped by the reactions and expectations of the stepchild. Hetherington (1993) reports that stepfathers' initial attempts to establish a positive relationship are often rebuffed, causing many stepfathers over time to withdraw their attempts to engage the stepchildren. In a longitudinal study of adolescents in divorced and remarried families, Hetherington and Clingempeel (1992) found that after two years stepfathers were often disengaged from their stepchildren and demonstrated low levels of involvement and rapport, and low levels of control, discipline, and monitoring.

Another common characteristic of stepfamilies is their complex structure. They typically include an extended network of custodial children, non-custodial children, non-residential parents, grandparents, and ex in-laws that span several households (Cherlin and Furstenberg, 1993). Children in stepfamilies are often shuttled back and forth between households for day visits, overnights, holidays, and vacations. Such attempts to maintain children's attachments to both biological parents and other relatives may mean that family boundaries are more permeable in stepfamilies, making relationships less cohesive. Using data from the NSC, Furstenberg (1987) reported that when asked to report specifically on who they included in their family, 15 percent of stepparents failed to mention their stepchildren and 31 percent of stepchildren failed to include their stepparents. In addition, rather than trying to keep their parents together, as is the case for nuclear families, children in stepfamilies often consciously or subconsciously wish to separate their parent and stepparent in order for their biological parents to be reunited (Visher and Visher, 1978). Finally, stepparents themselves often have competing obligations and loyalties to children from their prior marriages. Stepfathers must often deal with rivalry between their children and their new wives for affection and attention (Visher and Visher, 1978).

Furthermore, the marital relationship in stepfamilies, owing to its relative recency, may assume greater prominence than in two-parent-biological families. Indeed, family therapists often advise remarried couples to become the dominant sub-system within the family (e.g., Papernow, 1988). The benefits of a higher quality marital relationship are that it may confer the stepparent with more authority when assuming a parental role (Cherlin and Furstenberg, 1993), and that it may contribute to a higher quality relationship between stepfathers and

stepchildren (Clingempeel, Brand, and Segal, 1987; Hetherington, 1993). However, placing priority on the marital relationship may mean that even the biological parent is less available to meet the needs of the child. And the cohesiveness of the marital relationship may jeopardize the quality of relationships between the child and both his or her custodial and non-custodial parents. Particularly when mothers and daughters form a companionate relationship following divorce, stepfathers are often viewed by daughters as threats to the position they have achieved in the single-parent family (Hetherington and Jodl, 1993).

Another challenge in stepfamily life is that members do not have a common past history. This may create a feeling of "culture shock" (Robinson, 1991) and make members ill-at-ease in both day-to-day relations and in the practice of customs, such as holiday celebrations. The different experiences and perspectives that family members bring to the stepfamily can be both positive and negative influences (Hetherington and Camara, 1984).

Because of the ambiguity regarding parental roles and kinship obligations, and the absence of biological bonds between stepparents and stepchildren, stepparents may not provide the same level of emotional support and have as close a relationship with their children as biological parents do. Moreover, the challenges of stepfamily life may affect the amount and quality of time that both biological and stepparents spend with their children. Remarried parents may not be as inclined to participate in children's activities such as teams or clubs, special projects, or school trips. Despite the strong rationale for smaller emotional and time investments on the part of stepparents as compared to intact parents, however, to date this has not been explored empirically.

The aim of the current analysis is to address this gap and determine whether levels of parent-child closeness and time investments differ in step- versus other families. We also examine the child-related activities of divorced parents who have not remarried. We hypothesize that single-parents will face more time constraints than either intact or remarried parents. We explore these issues directly by examining child and parent reports of parental involvement across three family types -- intact, remarried, and single due to divorce or separation. We contrast reported frequencies of such parent-child activities as going to the movies or on a class trip together; playing a game or sport together; and working with a youth group, team, or club; as well as indicators of the emotional relationship between parents and children. Our descriptive analyses focus on youth and their parents in three national data sets: the NCC, the NSFH, and the NSC.

We follow this descriptive analysis with an examination of whether observed differences in parental involvement account for differences in child wellbeing across the three groups. We examine different measures of behavior problems using the NSFH and NSC; and self-reported delinquent behaviors, depression, and high school graduation in the NSC only.

DATA AND METHODS

Data

National Commission of Children Survey of Children and Parents: The NCC survey is a cross-sectional telephone survey conducted in 1990. Respondents were 1,738 U.S. parents and 929 of their children ages 10 to 17. All parents interviewed lived in the same household with their children. For households containing two parents, one was randomly selected to be

interviewed. One child from the household was randomly designated as the target of the parent interview, and if the child was aged 10 to 17, he or she was also interviewed. The overall response rate for parents was 71 percent, and for children whose parent was interviewed was approximately 82 percent. Weights were developed based on 1989 Census data to obtain estimates representative of households with telephones in the continental U.S.

For the current analyses, only parents with children ages 10 to 17 were included, so that both parental and child reports of family activities could be examined. Parents were asked how many nights their family eats dinner together; how often they and their child attend religious services together; and how often they attend a play, concert or sports event together. Parents were also asked how often they work with the child's youth group, team or club; help with special projects or class trips; attend a PTA or other school meeting; talk to the child's teacher about his or her progress; and lead Sunday school or other religious programs. Parents also reported how often they miss activities or events that are important to the child, and rated their relationship with their child (from poor to excellent). Youth respondents to the NCC reported how often they talk with the parent about problems and about religion; they rated how often the mother misses important events, how often she respects the child's ideas, and whether the family celebrates if the child wins an award.

National Survey of Families and Households: The NSFH is a cross-sectional survey of 13,017 households that was designed to examine patterns of fertility, marriage, mortality, migration, family composition and household structure. Interviews were conducted in person in 1987. Black and Hispanic households, single-parent families, families with stepchildren, cohabiting

couples, and recently married couples were oversampled. One adult per household was randomly selected as the primary respondent, and the respondents' spouse or cohabiting partner was also asked to complete a brief self-administered questionnaire. While some information was collected about all children in the household, detailed information was obtained about one randomly selected child; the children themselves were not interviewed. The present sample includes families with children ages 12 to 18.

Parenting variables from the NSFH reflect parent report of how many days in the past week the respondent ate breakfast and ate dinner with at least one of his/her children, and how often the respondent engages in leisure activities away from home and spends time at home working on a project or playing together. Respondents were also asked how much time they spend in a parent-teacher organization or other school activity, religious youth group; community youth group (e.g. scouts), and team sports or youth athletic clubs. Finally, they were also asked if they attend church services regularly, and church social events.

Since the NSFH is a cross-sectional survey, we are not able to examine the association between parenting measures and behavior problems prospectively. Instead, we explore the association between 1987 measures of parental time investments and 1987 reports of child behavior problems. We developed a five-item scale of behavior problems based on responses to whether the youth ever ran away, was suspended from school, required a parent-teacher conference due to misbehavior at school, had trouble with the police, and saw a psychologist or therapist.

National Survey of Children: The NSC is a longitudinal study of U.S. children born between 1965 and 1970. The first wave of the survey, conducted in 1976-1977, was based on a national probability sample of households with children aged 7 to 11 years. Information was gathered through in-person interviews of 2,301 children in 1,747 households, for an 80% completion rate. Interviews were conducted with up to two eligible children in each household and with the parent (usually the mother) most knowledgeable about the children. The second wave was conducted in 1981, when children were aged 12 to 16. Parents of a subset of 1,794 children were chosen for re-interview, and 1,423 of these (80%) were completed. Children in high-conflict or disrupted families were oversampled in Wave 2. Wave 3 was conducted in 1987, with 1,147 youth ages 18 to 22 (81% of eligible respondents). A parent interview was completed for 1,049 of these youth. Weights have been developed for the NSC to account for attrition, for the oversample of black children and children from high-conflict or disrupted homes, and the undersample of children from large families. Weighted estimates are representative of United States youth in the eligible age range for this cohort.

Parenting variables from the NSC were derived from both youth and parent report in Wave 2 (1981). Parents reported how often their child attends religious services, and whether they have rules about the child's homework or the child's social life (dates and parties). Parents also rated their relationship with the child from not very close to extremely close. Youth respondents to the NSC described how often they have done the following with their parent: gone to dinner, gone to a movie, worked on schoolwork, played a game or sport, gone on a trip such as to a museum or sports events, and done things together such as build things,

cook, etc. Youth also described whether the parent does the following: tells them she's pleased when they've done something good; appreciates what they try to accomplish; and loves and is interested in them. Finally, youth respondents rated their relationship with the parent from not very close to extremely close.

Unlike the NCC and NSFH, the design of the NSC allows longitudinal as well as cross-sectional analyses. The current analyses use measures of family activities from Wave 2 (1981) of the NSC, and measures of youth outcomes from Wave 3 (1987). Parents' marital status (intact, divorced, remarried) reflect status at the time of the Wave 2 interview.

The following scales or items from the NSC Wave 3 (1987) interview were used as dependent variables in multivariate analyses of the NSC.

The Behavior Problems Index (BPI) includes a subset of 17 items from the original BPI (Peterson & Zill, 1986) suitable for young adults; these items have acceptable reliability (α = .81). BPI items were scored a 0 ("never true"), 1 ("sometimes true") or 2 ("often true") of the youth in the past four weeks, and a summary score represents the sum of these responses.

Youth delinquency was measured by an abbreviated version of the Self-Reported Delinquent Behaviors Scale from the National Survey of Youth. Youth reported whether in the past 12 months they had engaged in any of 11 behaviors such as "stolen or tried to steal something worth more than $50," and if so, how often. Each item received a score of 1 (not at all) through 4 (12 or more times). Delinquency scores reflect the sum of these scores for the 11 items.

Youth depression was measured by a 12-item short form of the Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale (CES-D) (Devins & Orme, 1985). This scale was designed to measure depressive symptomatology in the general population. Youth indicated how often in the past four weeks they had experienced each symptom. Each item is scored from 0 (never) to 3 (most of the time), and scale scores represent the sum of these responses.

High school graduation status was determined from youth report. A dichotomous variable was created to indicate youth who had completed a high school diploma or were on track to graduate from high school (e.g. 17 or 18 years old and still enrolled).

Limitations

While the current study provides an unprecedented view of the emotional and time investments that parents make in their children across different family types, there are several limitations. First, limits in sample size forced us to combine different types of stepfamilies (e.g., those with no common children, those with children from only one previous marriage, those with children from both previous marriages) despite the possibility that each type faces unique challenges. In addition, children in our stepfamily category are diverse in terms of custody arrangements, length of remarriage, and ages of children, yet sample size again constrains our ability to perform subgroup analyses. Finally, due to a lack of specificity in the wording of interview questions, we are not able to differentiate between biological and stepparents in reports regarding parental activities and relationships with children.

Control Variables

Multiple classification analyses with all three data sets included controls for child's age and race (black or non-black), parent education (high school graduate or not), gender of the parent respondent (NSFH and NCC only), region of residence (NCC and NSC only), and family income. Multiple regression analyses include controls for child age and race, parent education, region (living in the south versus elsewhere), and family income. All analyses were conducted separately for males and females.

Analysis Method

We use multiple classification analysis (MCA) to examine differences in parent-child activities and reported levels of closeness as a function of family type. MCA is a form of analysis of variance that allows multiple categorical independent variables. Proportions reporting each of the parenting variables for the three family types are presented, adjusted for the main effects of variables controlling for socioeconomic differences across the groups. Stepfamily reports of time and emotional investments are compared to the proportions of patents in intact families reporting the same activities. We also compare proportions for single-parent divorced families versus remarried families.

To examine the extent to which parental activities predict child outcomes we used ordinary least squares regression for behavior problems, delinquency and depression (measured quasi-continuously). For high school completion, coded dichotomously, we used logistic regression. In these analyses, family type was entered in our models using two dummy variables: one indicating being in a stepfamily, the other indicating being in a single-

parent family. Thus, the intact two-parent-family status was the contrast category. All analyses are weighted.

RESULTS

Are there differences in the level of parental activity and parent-child closeness by family type?

Adjusted proportions of parent- and child-reported items measuring time spent together and closeness of parents and children in the NCC, NSFH, and NSC are reported in Tables 1 through 3. The data are presented separately for boys and girls, and for each family type -- two-biological-parent (hereafter called intact), stepfamily, and divorced or separated parents who have not remarried (hereafter called single-parents). Beginning with results from parent reports in the NCC (Table 1), there are multiple ways in which the involvement of parents in stepfamilies differs from that of intact families. Among boys, parents in stepfamilies are less than half as likely as intact parents to report attending religious services (21 versus 43%) and to provide help with special projects or class trips (28 versus 57%); and are only one-third as likely to rate their relationships with their sons as excellent (19 versus 56%). Parents in stepfamilies (28%) are also markedly less likely than their intact counterparts (48%) to work with a youth group, team, or club. While parents in stepfamilies are *more* likely than those in intact families to attend PTA or other school meetings, the meaning of this variable is not clear because the school meetings may be attributable to greater levels of academic or conduct problems at school among boys who have experienced remarriage.

From the point of view of boys themselves, those in stepfamilies are substantially less likely than boys in intact families to talk to their parents frequently about religion (9 versus 40%) and to discuss problems with them (40 versus 68%). The reported levels of parental activities and closeness of NCC boys with single-parents are similar to those of intact boys. In all other comparisons where statistical significance was achieved, single parents have levels of parental involvement that fall between those of intact and stepfamilies.

The results for girls in the NCC reveal larger differences in parent-reported levels of involvement in step- versus intact families. Compared to intact families, parents of girls in stepfamilies are considerably less likely to attend religious services (33 versus 55%); to lead Sunday school or another religious program (6 versus 36%); to eat dinner together as a family most nights (17 versus 48%); to attend PTA or other school meetings (64 versus 78%); to help with special projects or class trips (34 versus 60%); and to attend a play, concert, or sports event (73 versus 87%). According to girls' own reports, parents in stepfamilies (57%) are far less likely than those in intact families (83%) to celebrate if they win an award. Unlike the case for boys, single-parents of girls closely resemble those in stepfamilies on the majority of measures; the exception is frequency of eating family meals together.

Turning to the NSFH, where we only have parent-reported levels of engagement in activities with their children, contrasts across family type are less sharp. While parents of boys in stepfamilies are less likely to attend church and church social events regularly than those in intact families, their reported levels of other activities are indistinguishable from parents in other family types. Parents of girls in stepfamilies in the NSFH are less likely than those who have remained married to spend time as a leader or advisor of a religious youth

group, to eat breakfast with their daughters regularly, to attend or lead PTA or other school meetings regularly, and to attend church services. Among both boys and girls, single-parents are similar to those in stepfamilies on most measures.

Using data from the NSC (Table 3), we also see few statistically significant differences in parent activity levels and the quality of the parent-child relationship according to family type. Among boys, parents in stepfamilies (99%) are *more* likely than those in intact families (82%) to report having rules about doing homework, but their sons are substantially less likely to report working on school assignment with their parents (10 versus 38 percent). Parents in stepfamilies (81%) are also somewhat less likely than their intact counterparts (91%) to rate their relationship with their sons as extremely close. Girls in stepfamilies are also less likely to report working on schoolwork with their parents (14%) compared to those in intact families (34%); and they are half as likely to report going to a museum or sports event with their parents within the past month (16 versus 35%).

In the two out of the three instances when single parents of boys were observed to be statistically different from those in stepfamilies -- attending religious services and playing a game or sport -- parents in single-parent families were perceived as less active. The opposite was true among girls, however. Greater proportions of girls with single parents reported going to the movies, playing a game or sport, or going to a museum or sports event with their parents than girls in stepfamilies.

Do differences in parental time investments account for differences in child adjustment across family types?

Our next step was to investigate whether the differences in parental time investments we documented across family types predict to differences in child adjustment in step-versus intact and single-parent families. Beginning with the NSFH, we use OLS regression to estimate separately for boys and girls a series of models predicting behavior problems. We control for family type and then for measures of parental involvement. For parsimony we combined some of the parenting items reported individually in earlier tables into scales. We formed a religious activities scale by summing parents' responses to the three items related to religious activities shown in the first three rows of Table 2. We formed an index of parents' participation in children's activities by summing responses to the seven questions concerning activities, outings, time spent together, and meals eaten together.

Table 4 provides results for boys in the NSFH and reveals that being in a stepfamily has a statistically significant effect on the behavior problems of males. In Model 2, which includes indicators for family type and socio-demographic controls only, the effect of being in a stepfamily was .41, or one-half a standard deviation increase in behavior problems compared to living with two biological parents. We next added an index of the level of parental participation in children's activities and found that the magnitude of the stepfamily effect was reduced somewhat (β for step = .40). Accounting for parents' religious participation also diminished the observed effect of being in a stepfamily (β for step =.38). Thus, our hypothesis that the lower time investments of parents in stepfamilies explains some of the adjustment problems of children in stepfamilies receives some modest support. When all of

our parental activity measures were included in a full model the stepfamily effect remained at .38.

The results in Table 4 also reveal that being in a single-parent family adversely affects boys' behavior problems -- to a somewhat larger degree than being in a stepfamily. The effect of living with a solo divorced or separated parent is .52 in Model 2, containing only sociodemographic controls, and is reduced to .46 when indices of both parental activities and religious participation are included. As was true for our findings related to stepfamilies, this suggests that differentials in parental time investments partially explain differences in behavior problems of boys in single-parent versus intact families.

Turning to girls, Table 5 summarizes the results of OLS models estimated for girls in the NSFH. Here too, being in a stepfamily has an adverse effect on the behavior problems of girls, but the size of the effect is roughly half that observed for boys. As was true for boys, the coefficient for stepfamily declines with the addition of measures of parental involvement. The coefficient for being in a stepfamily declines from .19 in Model 2 to .17 when measures of either parental involvement or religious participation are added. When both indices are added in a full model, the effect of being in a stepfamily declines to .16 and is only marginally significant.

While still notably smaller than the single-parent effect observed for boys' behavior problems, the effect for girls of being in a single-parent family (Model 2 β = .38) is roughly twice the size of the effect for girls of being in a stepfamily (Model 2 β = .19). The single-parent effect was reduced to .35 when indices of parental involvement in child's activities and religious participation were added.

We turn our attention next to the NSC, where in addition to behavior problems, we also examine the effects of differential time and emotional investments in children on youth delinquency, depression, and high school completion. In the NSC, as in the NSFH, we combined some of the individual family process measures into scales for greater parsimony. An index of the parent-child relationship is a five-item scale including the parent's rating of closeness to the child, the child's rating of closeness to the parent, and three items tapping the child's perception of the warmth and affection he or she receives from the mother. An index of the parent's participation in activities with the child combines six items measuring the amount of time the parent spends with the child in activities such as movies, sporting events, and trips. The remaining family process measures are entered individually into our multivariate models. Unlike the NSFH, the NSC is longitudinal in design, allowing us to use parenting measures ascertained in 1981 to predict to outcomes for young adults in 1987. Tables 6 and 7 present the results for males' and females' behavior problems, respectively.

As revealed in Table 6, being in a stepparent family does not have a statistically significant effect on the level of parent-reported behavior problems among males in the NSC. However, Table 7 shows that the effect of being in a stepfamily is sizable among females. Being in a stepparent family raises female BPI scores by two and a quarter points (Model 2 ß = 2.26), net of socio-demographic controls. Including measures of the parent-child relationship reduces this effect somewhat ($\beta = 2.08$), suggesting that the closeness of the parent-child bond is a mechanism of the effect of living in a stepfamily on the behavior problems of girls. However, the magnitude of the stepfamily coefficient changes little when we account for parent activities ($\beta = 2.26$), rules ($\beta = 2.31$), and religious attendance ($\beta =$

2.38), providing little support for the notion that differences in these activities across step- and other families explain the higher levels of behavior problems among females in stepfamilies.

Being in a stepfamily was not related to either boys' or girls' levels of delinquency or depression, nor to their likelihood of completing high school. These results are shown in Tables 8 through 13.

Like the effect of being in a stepfamily, the effect of being in a single-parent family rarely achieved statistical significance net of controls in our models for males' and females' outcomes in the NSC. The exception was in the model predicting delinquency among males -- where the single-parent affect remained marginally significant net of our measures of parental investments ($\beta = 1.00$, shown in Table 8). In the case of behavior problems for males and females, where the baseline effect of being in a single-parent family was significant for both males and females (Tables 6 and 7), it was no longer statistically significant when sociodemographic controls were added (Model 2).

Summary and Conclusions

At the outset we argued that although stepfamilies may resemble intact families in terms of monetary resources and the availability of two parents, the unique challenges of stepfamily life may mean that parents in step- compared to intact families may allocate less time to the child and to the child's activities. We used data from three nationally representative data sets: the National Commission on Children survey (NCC), the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH), and the National Survey of Children (NSC). We explored differences in parental involvement in children's activities such as games, sports,

class trips and special projects and measures of parent-child closeness according to family type. We found that, particularly among girls in the NCC, parents in stepfamilies were substantially less likely than parents in intact families to report attending religious services; providing help with special projects or class trips; and attending plays, concerts or sports events, even net of socioeconomic controls. Compared to those in both intact and single-parent families, parents and sons in stepfamilies in the NCC were far less likely to rate their relationships with each other as excellent or extremely close, while there was little difference in this measure across family types among girls.

The contrasts between step- and other families were not as sharp in either the NSFH or the NSC. Parents of boys in stepfamilies in the NSFH were shown to be less likely to regularly attend church and church social events than those in intact families, and the stepparents of girls were less likely than those in intact families to be a leader, coach or advisor of a religious group; to eat breakfast regularly with their daughters; to attend or lead PTA or other school meetings regularly; and to attend church services. The NSC revealed few statistically significant differences in parental time and emotional investments in children according to family type.

Given some differences in parental participation in activities and parent-child closeness across family types, we used data from both the NSFH and NSC to investigate whether they accounted for differences in child adjustment. We found that differentials in parental activity and religious participation partially explained greater levels of parent-reported behavior problems among children in the NSFH. While being in a stepfamily did not significantly affect the level of behavior problems among males in the NSC, we found that the closeness of

the parent-child bond was a mechanism of the effect of living in a stepfamily on the behavior problems of girls. Being in a stepfamily was not significantly related to any of our other outcomes in the NSC.

Turning to the effect of being in a single-parent family, our analyses revealed that children, particularly boys, in single-parent families due to divorce have the most adverse outcomes. These differences were partially explained by differences in the time investments that solo parents are able to make in their children's activities.

A limitation of the current study is our inability to separately examine different types of stepfamilies, for example those in which the mother has custody versus those headed by the biological father. It would also be valuable to re-examine these issues for biological versus nonbiological parents in stepfamilies. And, much insight could be gained from comparing children in stepfamilies of long duration versus those in stepfamilies of recent vintage. Finally, the data suggest that intact families are particularly involved in two kinds of activities, those requiring relatively large time commitments, such as helping out in schools, and those involving religious activities. Further investigations might explore this greater religiosity among families that are intact -- the patterns we observe may be related to the selectivity of the divorce process.

Finally, a potentially fruitful extension of our study of stepfamilies would be to examine implications at the community level of differences in investments in school and community activities. Although social capital theorists (e.g. Coleman, 1988) emphasize the

importance of parental investments in fostering the achievement of children, the broad-reaching implications for communities of the large number of remarried and single-parent families have not been explored.

Table 1: Adjusted Proportion of Parents and Children Reporting Time and Emotional Investments by Family Type for Boys and Girls Ages 10 to 17 in 1990 (National Commission on Children's Survey)

	Boys				Girls			
		Both Parents (N=321)	Stepfamily (N=40)	Divorced/ Separated Parent (N=115)		Both Parents (N=274)	Stepfamily (N=31)	Divorced/ Separated Parent (N=146)
Time and Emotional Investments	Unweighted N	Adjusted Proportion	Adjusted Proportion	Adjusted Proportion	Unweighted N	Adjusted Proportion	Adjusted Proportion	Adjusted Proportion
		Parent Report Questions				Parent Report Questions		
Parent and Child attend religious services together at least once a week	470	43%*	21%	31%	392	55%*	33%	23%
Parent has led a Sunday school class or other religious program in the past year	469	29%	29%	18%	391	36%***	6%	3%
Parent almost never misses activities or events that are important to child	468	61%	63%	61%	389	60%	53%	51%
Family eats dinner together 6 or 7 nights a week	453	50%	47%	50%	377	48%**	17%	42%*
Parent has attended PTA or other special school meeting in the past year	470	69%*	89%	55%**	392	78%+	64%	63%
Parent has helped with special projects or class trips at school in the past year	470	57%**	28%	41%	392	60%**	34%	46%
Parent has worked with a youth group, team, or club in the past year	470	48%*	28%	33%	392	47%	38%	39%
Parent has attended a play, concert, sporting event or other activity at school in the past year	470	87%	83%	82%	392	87%*	73%	81%
Child's relationship with parent respondent is excellent	469	56%***	19%	66%***	392	56%	54%	49%
		Child Report Questions				Child Report Questions		
Conversation with parent at least once a week about religion or values	378	40%**	9%	37%*	336	40%	28%	25%
Mother almost never/never misses important to child	367	61%	54%	52%	328	68%	62%	64%
Celebrate if child won award	373	80%	70%	78%	331	83%**	57%	71%
Child always/usually talks about problems with parent	367	68%*	40%	73%*	328	69%	60%	61%
Mother always/usually respects child's opinions	367	50%	41%	33%	328	51%	39%	33%

Source: Analyses by Child Trends, Inc. based on public use files from the National Commission on Children's Survey

Notes:
1. *** p<.001; ** p<.01; * p<.05; + p<.10
2. Adjusted by Multiple Classification analysis for effects of parent education, gender of parent respondent, race, income and region of residence, and age of child
3. Significance is compared between step families and both parent families, and between step families and currently divorced or separated parents

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Table 2: Adjusted Proportion of Parents and Children Reporting Time and Emotional Investments by Family Type for Boys and Girls Ages 12 to 18 in 1987 (National Survey of Families and Households)

	Boys				Girls			
		Both Parents (N=572)	Stepfamily (N=128)	Divorced/ Separated Parent (N=349)		Both Parents (N=552)	Stepfamily (N=125)	Divorced/ Separated Parent (N=305)
Time and Emotional Investments	Unweighted N	Adjusted Proportion	Adjusted Proportion	Adjusted Proportion	Unweighted N	Adjusted Proportion	Adjusted Proportion	Adjusted Proportion
	Parent Report Questions				Parent Report Questions			
Parent spent at least one hour a week in the past year as a participant, leader, coach or advisor of a religious youth group	849	23%	14%	14%	820	24%+	15%	9%
Attend church services at least once a week	1034	49%**	31%	27%	971	45%*	34%	26%
Attend church social events at least once a month	983	37%*	25%	24%	917	32%	28%	27%
Parent ate breakfast with child(ren) 6 days or more in past week	951	31%	24%	21%	894	25%*	13%	13%
Parent ate dinner with child(ren) 6 days or more in past week	948	68%	69%	39%***	896	62%	57%	45%+
Parent spends time with child(ren) in leisure activities away from home (picnics, movies, sports, etc) once a week or more	987	47%	46%	45%	931	45%	36%	49%+
Parent works with child on project once a week or more	983	60%	68%	69%	933	61%	58%	54%
Parent spent at least one hour a week in the past year as a participant, leader, coach or advisor in a PTA or other school activity	853	31%	29%	30%	823	35%*	23%	22%
Parent spent at least one hour a week in the past year as a participant, leader, coach or advisor of a community youth group (e.g. Scouts)	851	15%	13%	5%	817	13%	10%	8%
Parent spent at least one hour a week in the past year as a participant, leader, coach or advisor of a team sport or youth athletic club	850	34%	31%	28%	813	26%	22%	22%

Source: Analyses by Child Trends, Inc. based on public use files from the National Survey of Families and Households

Notes:
1. *** p< 001; ** p< 01; * p< 05; + p< 10
2. Adjusted by Multiple Classification analysis for effects of parent education, gender of parent respondent, race, income and age of child.
3. Significance is compared between step families and both parents, and between step parents and single parents.

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Table 3: Adjusted Proportion of Parents and Children Reporting Time and Emotional Investments by Family Type for Boys and Girls Ages 18 to 22 in 1987 (National Survey of Children)

	Boys				Girls			
		Both Parents (N=305)	Stepfamily (N=38)	Divorced/ Separated Parent (N=53)		Both Parents (N=324)	Stepfamily (N=35)	Divorced/ Separated Parent (N=70)
Time and Emotional Investments	Unweighted N	Adjusted Proportion	Adjusted Proportion	Adjusted Proportion	Unweighted N	Adjusted Proportion	Adjusted Proportion	Adjusted Proportion
		Parent Report Questions				Parent Report Questions		
Child has attended religious services, including Sunday School at least once a week in the past year	396	60%	56%	34%+	428	70%	57%	39%
Have rules about child doing homework	395	82%**	99%	90%	429	85%	77%	84%
Have rules about child going on a date or to a party	395	71%	69%	70%	427	81%	74%	71%
Parent's relationship with child is extremely/quite close	395	91%+	81%	87%	429	88%	83%	84%
		Child Report Questions				Child Report Questions		
When child does something good, mother often tells child she is pleased	391	74%	84%	82%	423	74%	76%	91%
Child feels extremely/quite close to mother	391	90%	89%	85%	423	87%	80%	79%
Mother lets child know she appreciates what child tries to accomplish	390	80%	76%	90%	423	78%	75%	82%
Mother loves and is interested in child	391	90%	97%	88%	423	88%	89%	93%
Child has gone out to dinner with parents(s) within the last month	389	69%	60%	67%	423	65%	71%	68%
Child has gone to movies with parent(s) within the last month	390	23%	20%	32%	423	20%	16%	34%+
Child has gone on trip with parent(s) (such as museum or sports event) within the last month	391	44%	36%	34%	423	35%*	16%	38%+
Child has worked on schoolwork with parent(s) within the last week	340	38%**	10%	43%**	370	34%*	14%	18%
Child has played a game/sport with parent(s) within the last week	391	41%	53%	23%**	422	39%	24%	47%+
Child has done things together with parent(s) such as build or make things, cook or sew within the last week	391	47%	53%	35%	423	54%	52%	38%

Source: Analyses by Child Trends, Inc. based on public use files from the National Survey of Children

Notes: 1. *** p< 001; ** p< 01; * p< 05; + p< 10
2. Adjusted by Multiple Classification analysis for effects of parent education, gender of parent respondent, race, income and region of residence, and age of child.
3. Significance is compared between step families and both parent families, and between step families and currently divorced or separated parents.

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Table 4: Unstandardized OLS Coefficients for Models Predicting Behavior Problems for Males Ages 12 to 18 in 1987 (National Survey of Families and Households) (Mean .49, std. dev. .89, Unweighted N=722)

Independent Variables	Baseline	Controls Added	Activities Index	Religion Index	Full
Step Parent Family	.42***	.41***	.40***	.38**	.38**
Divorced/Separated Parent	.55***	.52***	.49***	.47***	.46***
Total Family Income	--	-.00005	-.00003	-.00008	-.00005
Parent Graduated High School	--	-.16+	-.13	-.13	-.12
Is R Black?	--	-.14	-.14	-.09	-.10
Age of Child	--	.04*	.03	.04*	.03
Gender of Respondent	--	-.11	-.12+	-.13+	-.13+
Index of Parent's Participation in Child's Activities	--	--	-.08***	--	-.06**
Index of parent's Participation in Religious Activities	--	--	--	-.10**	-.07*
R^2	.06***	.08***	.10***	.09***	.10***

Source: Analyses by Child Trends, Inc. based on public use files from the National Survey of Families and Households

Notes: 1. Table values are based on weighted data.
2. + p≤.10; * p≤.05; ** p≤.01; *** p≤.001
3. Means imputed for missing values on independent variables.

Table 5: Unstandardized OLS Coefficients for Models Predicting Behavior Problems for Females Ages 12 to 18 in 1987 (National Survey of Families and Households) (Mean .31, std. dev. .70, Unweighted N=707)

Independent Variables	Baseline	Controls Added	Activities Index	Religion Index	Full
Step Parent Family	.19*	.19*	.17*	.17+	.16+
Divorced/Separated Parent	.39***	.38***	.37***	.35***	.35***
Total Family Income	--	-.00004	-.00003	-.00005	-.00004
Parent Graduated High School	--	-.07	-.05	-.04	-.04
Is R Black?	--	-.13	-.14+	-.09	-.10
Age of Child	--	.05***	.04**	.05***	.04**
Gender of Respondent	--	-.08	-.11	-.11*	-.13*
Index of Parent's Participation in Child's Activities	--	--	-.05**	--	-.03*
Index of Parent's Participation in Religious Activities	--	--	--	-.10***	-.09***
R^2	.04***	.07***	.08***	.09***	.10***

Source: Analyses by Child Trends, Inc. based on public use files from the National Survey of Families and Households

Notes: 1. Table values are based on weighted data.
2. + p≤.10; * p≤.05; ** p≤.01; *** p≤.001
3. Means imputed for missing values on independent variables.

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Table 6: Unstandardized OLS Coefficients for Models Predicting Behavior Problems for Males Ages 18 to 22 in 1987 (National Survey of Children)
(Mean 3.64, std. dev. 4.27, Unweighted N=367)

Independent Variables	Baseline	Controls Added	Parent-Child Relationship	Activities	Rules	Religious Attendance	Full
Step Parent Family	.89	.81	.81	.80	.73	.84	.72
Divorced/Separated Parent	1.95**	1.24	1.24	1.02	1.24	1.30	1.09
Family Income in 1981 (Wave 2)	--	-.00005**	-.00005**	-.00005**	-.00005**	-.0005**	-.00005**
Parent Graduated High School	--	-.87	-.84	-.85	-.84	-.94	-.84
Is R Black?	--	-.97	-.95	-.83	-.95	-1.03	-.87
Does R Live in the South?	--	.07	.06	.04	.12	.04	.05
Age of Child	--	-.06	-.08	-.10	-.04	-.06	-.08
Index of Parent-Child Relationship	--	--	-.27	--	--	--	-.14
Index of Parent's Participation in Child's Activities	--	--	--	-.43*	--	--	-.40*
Parent has rules for child about doing homework	--	--	--	--	.29	--	.43
Parent has rules for child about dating	--	--	--	--	-.55	--	-.53
Child has attended religious services at least once a week in the past year	--	--	--	--	--	.54	.24
R^2	.02*	.06**	.06**	.07***	.06**	.06**	.08**

Source: Analyses by Child Trends, Inc. based on public use files from the National Survey of Children

Notes: 1. Table values are based on weighted data.
2. + p≤.10; * p≤.05; ** p≤.01; *** p≤.001
3. Means imputed for missing values on independent variables.

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Table 7: Unstandardized OLS Coefficients for Models Predicting Behavior Problems for Females Ages 18 to 22 in 1987 (National Survey of Children)
(Mean 3.52, std. dev. 4.76; Unweighted N=401)

Independent Variables	Baseline	Controls Added	Parent-Child Relationship	Activities	Rules	Religious Attendance	Full
Step Parent Family	2.45*	2.26*	2.08*	2.26*	2.31*	2.38*	2.30*
Divorced/Separated Parent	1.36*	.72	.94	.72	.82	1.00	1.38+
Family Income in 1981 (Wave 2)	--	-.00001	-.000009	-.000009	-.00001	-.00001	-.00001
Parent Graduated High School	--	-3.15***	-2.71***	-3.15***	-3.11***	-3.35	2.87***
Is R Black?	--	.11	.004	.11	.11	.02	-.05
Does R Live in the South?	--	-.62	-.61	-.62	-.64	-.69	-.69
Age of Child	--	-.12	-.08	-.13	-.16	-.13	-.11
Index of Parent-Child Relationship	--	--	-.90***	--	--	--	-.96***
Index of Parent's Participation in Child's Activities	--	--	--	-.01	--	--	.16
Parent has rules for child about doing homework	--	--	--	--	.81	--	.70
Parent has rules for child about dating	--	--	--	--	.71	--	.87
Child has attended religious services at least once a week in the past year	--	--	--	--	--	.71	.74
R^2	.02**	.08***	.12***	.08***	.09***	.08***	.14***

Source: Analyses by Child Trends, Inc. based on public use files from the National Survey of Children

Notes:
1. Table values are based on weighted data.
2. + p≤.10; * p≤.05; ** p≤.01; *** p≤.001
3. Means imputed for missing values on independent variables.

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Table 8: Unstandardized OLS Coefficients for Models Predicting Delinquency for Males Ages 18 to 22 in 1987 (National Survey of Children)
(Mean 3.06, std. dev. 3.22, Unweighted N=385)

Independent Variables	Baseline	Controls Added	Parent-Child Relationship	Activities	Rules	Religious Attendance	Full
Step Parent Family	-.14	-.32	-.32	-.31	-.46	-.29	-.44
Divorced/Separated Parent	.83	.95+	.95+	.90	.91+	1.09+	1.00+
Family Income in 1981 (Wave 2)	--	-.00001	-.000009	-.0000008	-.00001	-.00001	-.00001
Parent Graduated High School	--	.58	.58	.59	.65	.46	.57
Is R Black?	--	-.79	-.76	-.75	-.70	-.91	-.79
Does R Live in the South?	--	1.13**	1.12**	1.11**	1.23***	1.06**	1.15***
Age of Child	--	-.05	-.06	-.06	-.003	-.05	-.02
Index of Parent-Child Relationship	--	--	-.22	--	--	--	-.17
Index of Parent's Participation in Child's Activities	--	--	--	-.13	--	--	-.10
Parent has rules for child about doing homework	--	--	--	--	.61	--	.72
Parent has rules for child about dating	--	--	--	--	-1.16**	--	-1.12**
Child has attended religious services at least once a week in the past year	--	--	--	--	--	.56+	.53
R^2	.007	.04*	.05*	.04*	.07**	.05*	.08**

Source: Analyses by Child Trends, Inc. based on public use files from the National Survey of Children

Notes: 1. Table values are based on weighted data.
2. + p≤.10; * p≤.05; ** p≤.01; *** p≤.001
3. Means imputed for missing values on independent variables.

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Table 9: Unstandardized OLS Coefficients for Models Predicting Delinquency for Females Ages 18 to 22 in 1987 (National Survey of Children)
(Mean 1.82, std. dev. 2.03, Unweighted N=419)

Independent Variables	Baseline	Controls Added	Parent-Child Relationship	Activities	Rules	Religious Attendance	Full
Step Parent Family	-.33	-.37	-.39	-.43	-.38	-.30	-.37
Divorced/Separated Parent	.35	.29	.33	.28	.31	.44	.48
Family Income in 1981 (Wave 2)	--	-.000003	-.000003	-.000001	-.000002	-.000001	.0000005
Parent Graduated High School	--	.36	.47	.38	.34	.26	.36
Is R Black?	--	.29	.26	.23	.28	.25	.16
Does R Live in the South?	--	.36	.36+	.34	.35	.33	.31
Age of Child	--	-.08	-.07	-.10	-.10	-.08	-.10
Index of Parent-Child Relationship	--	--	-.22*	--	--	--	-.20*
Index of Parent's Participation in Child's Activities	--	--	--	-.16*	--	--	-.10
Parent has rules for child about doing homework	--	--	--	--	-.38	--	-.34
Parent has rules for child about dating	--	--	--	--	.06	--	.08
Child has attended religious services at least once a week in the past year	--	--	--	--	--	.36	.36
R^2	.006	.02	.03+	.03	.02	.03	.05+

Source: Analyses by Child Trends, Inc. based on public use files from the National Survey of Children

Notes: 1. Table values are based on weighted data.
2. + p≤.10; * p≤.05; ** p≤.01; *** p≤.001
3. Means imputed for missing values on independent variables.

Table 10: Unstandardized OLS Coefficients for Models Predicting Depression for Males Ages 18 to 22 in 1987 (National Survey of Children)
(Mean 8.14, std. dev. 6.31, Unweighted N=386)

Independent Variables	Baseline	Controls Added	Parent-Child Relationship	Activities	Rules	Religious Attendance	Full
Step Parent Family	.97	.78	.78	.82	.95	.88	1.01
Divorced/Separated Parent	1.53	.79	.79	.58	.86	1.20	1.05
Family Income in 1981 (Wave 2)	--	-.00008**	-.00008**	-.00007**	-.00006*	-.00007**	-.00006*
Parent Graduated High School	--	1.42	1.42	1.47	1.15	1.06	.91
Is R Black?	--	-1.24	-1.18	-1.09	-.86	-1.63	-1.10
Does R Live in the South?	--	.40	.39	.35	.64	.21	.41
Age of Child	--	.18	.14	.11	.20	.19	.15
Index of Parent-Child Relationship	--	--	-.56*	--	--	--	-.31
Index of Parent's Participation in Child's Activities	--	--	--	-.55*	--	--	-.43+
Parent has rules for child about doing homework	--	--	--	--	-1.34	--	-1.05
Parent has rules for child about dating	--	--	--	--	-2.13**	--	-2.05**
Child has attended religious services at least once a week in the past year	--	--	--	--	--	1.71**	1.55*
R^2	.007	.03+	.04*	.04*	.06**	.05*	.09***

Source: Analyses by Child Trends, Inc. based on public use files from the National Survey of Children

Notes:
1. Table values are based on weighted data.
2. + p≤.10; * p≤.05; ** p≤.01; *** p≤.001
3. Means imputed for missing values on independent variables.

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Table 11: Unstandardized OLS Coefficients for Models Predicting Depression for Females Ages 18 to 22 in 1987 (National Survey of Children)
(Mean 9.09, std. dev. 6.76; Unweighted N=419)

Independent Variables	Baseline	Controls Added	Parent-Child Relationship	Activities	Rules	Religious Attendance	Full
Step Parent Family	1.55	1.38	1.34	1.29	1.43	1.39	1.33
Divorced/Separated Parent	1.32	1.58	1.65	1.56	1.59	1.60	1.67
Family Income in 1981 (Wave 2)	--	.00003	.00003	.00004	.00003	.00003	.00003
Parent Graduated High School	--	-.67	-.48	-.64	-.62	-.69	-.44
Is R Black?	--	.28	.23	.19	.32	.27	.17
Does R Live in the South?	--	.60	.60	.57	.61	.59	.57
Age of Child	--	-.38+	-.36+	-.41+	-.37+	-.38+	-.39+
Index of Parent-Child Relationship	--	--	-.39	--	--	--	-.33
Index of Parent's Participation in Child's Activities	--	--	--	-.23	--	--	-.22
Parent has rules for child about doing homework	--	--	--	--	1.56+	--	1.64+
Parent has rules for child about dating	--	--	--	--	.43	--	.47
Child has attended religious services at least once a week in the past year	--	--	--	--	--	.06	.09
R^2	.008	.02	.02	.02	.03	.02	.03

Source: Analyses by Child Trends, Inc. based on public use files from the National Survey of Children

Notes: 1. Table values are based on weighted data.
2. + p≤.10; * p≤.05; ** p≤.01; *** p≤.001
3. Means imputed for missing values on independent variables.

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Table 12: Odds Ratios for Models Predicting High School Graduation for Males Ages 18 to 22 in 1987 (National Survey of Children)
(Mean .89, std. dev. .32, Unweighted N=385)

Independent Variables	Baseline	Controls Added	Parent-Child Relationship	Activities	Rules	Relgious Attendance	Full
Step Parent Family	.54	.64	.63	.63	.61	.63	.63
Divorced/Separated Parent	.45+	.69	.66	.74	.66	.66	.66
Family Income in 1981 (Wave 2)	--	1.0000**	1.0000**	1.0000**	1.0000*	1.0000**	1.0000*
Parent Graduated High School	--	.82	.78	.77	.77	.84	.61
Is R Black?	--	1.56	1.52	1.51	1.40	1.59	1.38
Does R Live in the South?	--	.46*	.45*	.48*	.38**	.47*	.40*
Age of Child	--	.91	.93	.94	.87	.91	.91
Index of Parent-Child Relationship	--	--	1.32*	--	--	--	1.25
Index of Parent's Participation in Child's Activities	--	--	--	1.34*	--	--	1.31+
Parent has rules for child about doing homework	--	--	--	--	.86	--	.71
Parent has rules for child about dating	--	--	--	--	4.13***	--	4.26***
Child has attended religious services at least once a week in the past year	--	--	--	--	--	.87	.95
-2 Log Likelihood	279.16	263.70	259.32	259.15	246.64	263.52	239.22
Model Chi-Square	3.99	19.45**	23.83**	24.00**	36.51***	19.63*	43.93***

Source: Analyses by Child Trends, Inc. based on public use files from the National Survey of Children
Notes: 1. Table values are based on weighted data
2. + p≤.10, * p≤.05, ** p≤.01, *** p≤.001
3. Means imputed for missing values on independent variables

Table 13. Odds Ratios for Models Predicting High School Graduation for Females Ages 18 to 22 in 1987 (National Survey of Children)
(Mean .91, std. dev. .29; Unweighted N=419)

Independent Variables	Baseline	Controls Added	Parent-Child Relationship	Activities	Rules	Religious Attendance	Full
Step Parent Family	.48	.41	.40	.46	.38	.42	.42
Divorced/Separated Parent	.46+	.70	.69	.71	.73	.70	.77
Family Income in 1981 (Wave 2)	--	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000
Parent Graduated High School	--	6.83***	6.51***	6.75***	6.84***	6.77***	6.59***
Is R Black?	--	.58	.57	.62	.57	.58	.62
Does R Live in the South?	--	.61	.59	.61	.60	.60	.59
Age of Child	--	.92	.91	.96	.89	.92	.93
Index of Parent-Child Relationship	--	--	1.12	--	--	--	1.08
Index of Parent's Participation in Child's Activities	--	--	--	1.35+	--	--	1.39*
Parent has rules for child about doing homework	--	--	--	--	.45	--	.38+
Parent has rules for child about dating	--	--	--	--	1.23	--	1.19
Child has attended religious services at least once a week in the past year	--	--	--	--	--	1.03	1.09
-2 Log Likelihood	251.00	219.02	218.48	215.10	216.98	219.01	211.98
Model Chi Square	4.23	36.21***	36.74***	40.13***	38.24***	36.21***	43.24***

Source: Analyses by Child Trends, Inc. based on public use files from the National Survey of Children

Notes: 1. Table values are based on weighted data.
2. + p≤.10; * p≤.05; ** p≤.01; *** p≤.001
3. Means imputed for missing values on independent variables.

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